Volume LXXXI CHICAGO, July 4, 1918 Number 18

UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

Thou who didst lead Thy people forth, and make the captive free,
Hast drawn around our native land the curtain of the sea,
To make another holy place, where golden lamps should shine,
And human hearts keep loving watch around the ark divine.

Thy hand has hid within our fields treasures of countless worth;
The light, the suns of other years, shine from the depths of earth;
The very dust, inbreathed by Thee, the clods all cold and dead,
Wake into beauty and to life, to give Thy children bread.

Thou who hast sown the sky with stars, setting Thy thoughts in gold,
Hast crowned our nation's life and ours, with blessings manifold;
Thy mercies have been numberless; Thy love, Thy grace, Thy care,
Were wider than our utmost need, and higher than our prayer.

O king of kings, O Lord of hosts, our fathers' God and ours!
Be with us in the future years; and if the tempest lowers,
Look through the cloud with light of love, and smile our tears away.
And lead us through the brightening years to heaven's eternal day.

—*Henry Burton.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXI. THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1918 Number 18

A MODERN TEN COMMANDMENTS

A CIVIC CODE FOR PRESENT NEEDS

I. Ye shall not neglect the assembling of yourselves together in the interest of morality and religion; for no man liveth and no man dieth unto himself.

II. Thou shalt obey all the laws of thy country faithfully so far as they are consistent with what thou believest to be the law of God; and when they are not so, or seem in anywise to need change thou shalt oppose them, not with violence, but deliberately and loyally. (*Ruskin.*)

III. Thou shalt not desecrate nor neglect the ballot; for thy life is perfected through the state.

IV. Thou shalt not spoil the earth for thine own selfish ends; neither its forests, its rivers, its mines nor its acres; for "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and he hath ordained that all his people shall dwell thereon.

V. Thou shalt consecrate thy wealth, whether of hand or of mind, to the well being and advancement of mankind. Man's noblest debts can never be paid back; they must be paid forward. The surplus of life is a fund from the past of which thou art trustee, to administer in the interest of the future.

VI. Thou shalt not withhold the truth from the assessor, nor evade any lawful taxes, for in so doing thou dost rob the dependent and abridge the life of the future.

VII. Thou shalt vouchsafe civil and religious liberty to all men regardless of race, color, or creed; for

"All that I am, all I hope to be,—
Whence comes it save from fortune setting free
Body and soul the purpose to pursue
God traced for both?" (*Browning.*)

VIII. Thou shalt not forget that thine own liberty ends where another's freedom is menaced; consequently, thou must not taint the air, desecrate the street, nor degrade the moral standards of the community in which thou dwellest.

IX. Thou shalt not kill or hurt any living creature needlessly, nor destroy any beautiful thing; but strive to save and comfort all gentle life, to guard and to perfect all natural beauty on the earth. (*Ruskin.*)

X. Thou shalt not violate the sanctity of human brotherhood, but shalt cultivate in every way possible thy citizenship of the world, seeking the glory of the nation in the fullness of an internationalism that will supplant war with federation, armies with international courts, secret diplomacy with world legislation at the hands of a regularly constituted Parliament of Nations, for—

Have we not all one Father,
Hath not one God created us? (*Malachi XI:10.*)

Dedicated to the Religious Study Classes of All Souls Church, Chicago, June 9, 1918

A contributor to the *Call* says "Ireland is the instrument that registers the sincerity of British pretensions. It is the land of promises if not the land of promise. When democracy is made safe throughout the world, England's reckoning day with Ireland will come. What the discontented elements in the British Empire, as in all other empires, need is home rule and representative government, enforced not by armies but by constitutional guarantees. When democracy is safe in all parts of the world there will be the 'Republic of Russia' and the 'United States of Germany' and of Great Britain, fewer armies, more constitutions, more local autonomy and more representative federation."

A subscriber sends the following:

From a school-teaching Southerner: "Last Sunday I attended the funeral of an old man who fought on the Yankee side in the Sixties. He has lived in ———— for some years, and often made his brags about the fine pianos he split with an axe, and the elegant silver he carried away from this section as he marched through with Sherman. In spite of all this he requested that the old Confederates be his pall-bearers. As I sat and saw the Masons go through their impressive services and the feeble old Confederates totter along as honorary pall-bearers I could not help thinking that in sixty years from now some German veteran will be asking our boys to show him the same respect. Perhaps things will work out all right, even if we are defeated as these brave old pall-bearers were."

This concrete illustration coming from some out of the way corner of the spiritual geography of our nation is not unique. History is pacific in its spirit always. The crimes of war are ameliorated in the perspective of history and the plain virtues and commonplace humanities are clarified by the centuries. Hate is a rank annual, a gaudy peony at best. Love is a rose with a fragrance that clings to the faded leaves. It leaves an aroma that pervades the pages it has stained.

"Christ and the World at War" is the title of a book of twelve sermons preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester and London, the dean of St. Paul's, and eight other Anglican and nonconformist preachers of England. These sermons of leading English preachers are put forth as interpreting the religious attitude of the English people with reference to the war and the problems it has developed. It would be difficult to have selected anything more futile for that purpose than these dozen sermons. The mind expressed is conventional, and the teaching is distinctly mediæval. What belongs to this day and hour gets no hearing here, but rather what is traditional, conventional, and "safe." Not a hint of radicalism is to be found in these pages, with almost no exception there is no recognition of what belongs to the world of modern thought. Anything more ineffective, futile and lacking in vigor would be impossible to conceive of as finding utterance in a present-day volume. If this is all England has to say on the subject of religion, the sooner it gives up the attempt to guide the modern mind the better. This volume is brought out in Boston by The Pilgrim Press.

G. W. C.

The articles which Rev. J. T. Sunderland has contributed to Unity and *The Christian Register* on American relations with Japan have now been included in a volume by him, published in New York by Putnam, and bearing the title "Rising Japan." It is a sane and sensible exposition of the political, social and religious development of Japan since the great revolution which

brought it into connection with western nations. What is most important in the book is its presentation of the true attitude of Japan towards America. Much of an exciting and inflammatory nature has been published on this subject, and is calculated to irritate both countries and bring on a war between them, if that is possible. Mr. Sunderland exposes the falseness of these attempts, and shows us in the most convincing manner that Japan has no desire to come into conflict with the United States, and will avoid any such cause of antagonism in every possible manner. A great body of facts of the most interesting and important nature are given in the book, and of such a character as ought to convince any fair-minded person that it is only the wildest folly to think that the two countries are seeking to injure each other. It ought to have a very wide reading, in order that its moderation and its sanity may help to clear up many current misconceptions in regard to the nature of the Japanese government and the position of its people on great international questions. The vigor, the lucidity and the wholesomeness of the book mark it as one deserving of the widest attention. G. W. C.

We hope that the Civic Code which appears at the top of our editorial column in this issue will attract attention, arouse discussion and provoke criticism. It has been in solution in the religious study classes of All Souls Church, Chicago, for the last twenty years, but it has never been fully crystalized into the full ten until this year. In the study of "Beginnings," the first year's work in the Seven Years' Course, which has just completed its fifth time round, the life on this earth has been traced through its astronomical, geological, biological and sociological evolution until it reaches its climax in the moral law as expressed in the Ten Commandments and the ethical codes of the world. In that study it is contended that at last man has arrived at a social fusion and community morals that call for a new code of ethics, hence this "Modern Ten Commandments." UNITY solicits criticism. The Code has been printed separately on a card which can be enclosed in an ordinary business envelope and may be ordered from UNITY office at the rate of two for five cents or twenty-five cents a dozen.

Ignoring a Lecture

"What does Mrs. Dubwaite say to you when you stay out late at night?"

"I wish I could tell you," replied Mr. Dubwaite.

"Don't you know?"

"I can't say that I do. She usually begins her remarks by addressing me as 'John Henry Dubwaite.' After that I know she isn't going to pay me any compliments, so I don't listen closely to what she says."

An Unique Fourth of July Celebration

In 1891 an organization was perfected in Chicago which was a mingling of business enterprise, public spirit and patriotism. This company purchased at a generous price the old Thomas Lincoln home in Coles County in the building of which Abraham Lincoln, the young lad from Indiana co-operated with his father before he struck out for himself. In this double log house Thomas Lincoln died and the forty acres of land on which it was built, the only land Abraham Lincoln ever owned outside of his Springfield homestead, was secured permanently for the benefit of the blessed stepmother who died in the humble successor to this log cabin.

The logs in this double cabin were carefully marked and moved to Chicago, reconstructed for the great Columbian Exposition during which exposition it was one of the "attractions." After this it was removed to Boston and was one of the curiosities of the Boston Gardens until at last it was converted into walking sticks which were readily disposed of as mementoes.

It was a business venture and it probably justified the investment. But these Chicago people were not lacking in sentiment. Realizing that the passing of the cabin indicated also the passing of men and women who made it notable and the simple life of that country side that formed so fitting and so little appreciated background to the great story, this corporation sent Mrs. Eleanor Gridley, accompanied by a stenographer down there to stay in the little white farm house that was the successor of the cabin and pick up from the residents, particularly from "Cousin John Hall," a vigorous, intelligent though rustic kinsman, such stories and reminiscences, quotations and incidents as would enrich the meager early story of Lincoln as found in the current biographies. This report of Mrs. Gridley was published rather gaudily by the company and was one of the accessories in the money-making schemes. Mrs. Gridley was more of a journalist than an historian and her book has the limitations of the newspaper "story" but it contains much valuable material which the sympathetic student can read largely between the lines.

As her sojourn of two weeks was drawing to a close the fourth day of July came along and her "Chapter XXXVIII," entitled "Independence Day at the Old Log Cabin" would be a fitting preparation for the celebration of the fourth day of July, 1918. Indeed, the reading of the same patriotic setting of flags, drums, parades and singing might well take the place of much of the spread eagle oratory that will pass for patriotism in this trying year.

Mrs. Gridley reports that "a torrid day, excessive heat and sultry air was the promise of the morning."

She tells us that her own

Life for the past two weeks had been filled with the memories and incidents of the early life of the martyred President. So filled indeed it seemed to me that, rehabilitated, he had assumed again his early fashion, and so real was his presence that I lived with him the life of adversity, hardship, toil and severe penury. His struggles became mine, his success and renown my pride, and his tragic death my personal grief. . . .

At peep of day the family arose, but the hot weather and continued labor had made such inroads upon the general health and good spirits of our solicitous handmaiden that the breakfast dragged, and it was quite six o'clock before we were called to partake of the morning meal. Every member of the family seemed to be possessed by the spirit of procrastination and we lingered at the table discussing the proposed events of the day, when Abe came leisurely sauntering in and calmly informed us that "paw was wanted at the gate by a man in a buggy, who had come all the way from Greenup to see him." The master of the house arose and went out to see the stranger. The remainder of the family precipitately left the table and peered through the door and the window.

The stranger seemed excited and his speech was loud and rapid. Mr. Hall's manner as he retraced his steps gave us no idea as to what the stranger wanted. We gathered about Uncle John and impatiently demanded "the news." After keeping us in suspense for a few minutes, in slow, drawling tones, he related the stranger's conversation. It was as follows:

A company of loyal friends and neighbors had come all the way from Greenup to celebrate "Independence Day" at the old log cabin. Mr. Hall, his family and his guests were cordially invited to join the party and dinner awaited their pleasure.

Wonderful events were crowding thick and fast, and the homely cabin was becoming an object of interest. Carriages were sent for us and we were driven by the main road around to the now famous old family homestead. Gathered in the yard was an enthusiastic and happy band of more than thirty souls, all bent on making the most of the day.

First in order came the dinner. A sumptuous repast was placed upon improvised tables put up in the west room. The intention had been to spread the feast out of doors, beneath the old locust trees which Grandfather Lincoln had planted, but swarms of minute and stinging insects drove the good people within. For several days the air had been filled with the little tormentors, and upon this occasion they appeared to be more than usually offensive and pugnacious. One of the party, a female preacher, a circuit rider, too, gave her opinion that the annoying pests were no doubt one of the same plagues that God had visited upon Pharaoh.

At the conclusion of the bountiful meal an enthusiastic admirer proposed that the exercises should take the form of an experience meeting. The suggestion was cheerfully accepted and when the honest country folks, both old and young, paid their simple and loving tribute to the sterling qualities of Abraham Lincoln and his parents methought the angels for very joy paused to listen, and the "radiant witnesses" carried the offering up into the high and shining courts.

Abraham Lincoln's kinsman, John Hall, said:

"I hain't used to speakin' no how, but I'll jest tell yer all how grandmarm used to stand to look down the road out of that air winder (pointing to the south side of the west room) and watch and watch fur Uncle Abe, and when she'd see him comin' she'd put her hands together and drop down on her knees and say, 'Thare comes my boy, my boy.' Grandmarm was allers the first to see him comin' down the road or across the medder and she'd jest stand still and cry and cry and say, 'Thare comes my boy, Abe.' Oh it was joyful to see those two meet. Wall, he never did stop comin' no how, and after he got to be a big man and wore a high hat he come jest the same, and it was never mentioned between Uncle Abe and Grandmarm that it was strange or wonderful that he should be so great and honored a man for she never thought that nothin', no how, wus tu great for him, and often said, 'There's no stoppin' for Abe,' and one time when she said so to Uncle Dennis Hanks he ses, ses he, 'Why, I larned Abe to write with a feather pen made for a buzzard's wing and that's what made him so smart.' But grandmarm 'ud jest smile, quiet like and say, "'Twas in the boy else it 'ud never come out in the man.'"

At this point in Mr. Hall's reminiscences "Sis" moved close to me, and in a whisper said, "Ask paw to tell about Uncle Abe when he come to the cabin after he got to be a President."

I now believed that a most favorable opportunity had arrived, and, taking advantage of the occasion, I called out to Mr. Hall in a rather excited manner and asked him to relate to the little gathering the story of the President's visit at the log cabin. My words electrified the little audience, and the gathering insisted until Uncle John mounted the platform. Mr. Hall, in his peculiar way, related the following circumstance:

"Jest the day afore Uncle Abe come up, the chimney fell down, and I hed to take grandmarm over to my mother's house. She wus married ag'in and livin' down to Farmington then. Wall, that mornin' when I wus fixin' up the chimney who should drive into the yard and holler out but Uncle Abe, the President of the United States. He got out of the buggy jest as nateral and shook hands and asked after all the relations, but when he found grandmarm gone he said, ses he, 'Come boys, let's all get into the buggy and go over there,' which we did; but before we started Uncle Abe looked the house all over and said, 'It looks jest as it always did,' and then he called me to one side and whispered in my ear, and pointing up with his right hand he said, 'Oh, my God! John, once the old cabin, now the White House.' After a bit he went out into the yard and Uncle Abe picked up a piece of shantlin' and asked for a axe. Then he chopped it in two and took out his pen knife and cut two large letters, 'T. L.,' and said, 'I'm going to drive these down at father's head and feet.' Then we went over to the graveyard about two miles away where Grandpap Lincoln was buried and Uncle Abe placed them, one at the head, t'other at the foot. From there we druv over to Farmington where Grandmarm Lincoln wus and took dinner with the folks. When we went into the house and grandmarm seed him she begun to cry, and said, 'They'll murder you, Abe, and I'll never get to see you no more.' He brought grandmarm a present of a black woolen dress, alapacy I think it wus, and a pattern to make it by. I believe she kept it until she died, and was buried in it. When the people heerd he hed come home, the neighbors and the old settlers all wanted to see him and the school wus dismissed. Uncle Abe talked with all of the folks and hed a laugh with every one. He talked to them in the house and I recklect one thing he told the women. Ses he, 'I will tell you what will cause a great deal of mourning all over the United States if it were to happen.' Some of them wanted to know what it was. 'Well,' ses he, 'if the matches should all fail to go off some morning when you got up, there would be a great deal of stir about a fire because none of you know how to make a fire like we used to in the old times. And now I'll tell you how we made fire when I was a boy. If Father got up on a cold morning and the fire was out in the fireplace, he would get a bunch of tow and pour it down on a piece of plank, then he would take the powder horn and pour the powder on the tow and take the flint out of the gun or hunt a piece of flint out of doors and take his knife and shut it up and strike it against the flint, and then if any of the sparks happened to fall on the powder the tow would take fire and blaze up. Then there was no trouble after that. So if all kinds of matches fail, don't forget the tow and flint.'

"Ye can jest believe that wus a big day for us, but nobody would have knowed he wus any more than he used to be. Why, grandmarm allers said he wus the best boy that wus livin' and that he wus allers gentle and kind and good and patient, and I knowled he never would no how hurt nothin.' He'd never shoot a bird or rob a bird's nest, nor step on a worm; and allers at hog killin' time he'd go away."

After thanking the speakers, the little company reformed into line and departed. The band wagon headed the procession. The Stars and Stripes floated in the evening breeze, and, as Old Glory rose and fell in undulating waves of tricolored harmony, the little company responded, and three cheers were given for the restored Union and Uncle Abe.

Reaching the four corners the procession turned into the opposite direction from whence it came, a circumstance which aroused our curiosity. Dispatching one of the boys "cross lots" we bade him intercept the retinue and learn the cause of so strange a proceeding. Abe Hall returned and told us that "the folks wus goin' over to the graveyard to put some posies on the graves of Grandpap and Grandmarm Lincoln." We uncovered our heads and remained silent, while tears coursed down Uncle John Hall's cheeks. Presently he said,

"How I wish Uncle Abe knowed them strangers did so good a deed."

A few weeks ago the Editor of UNITY spent a day mid these same surroundings. There is nothing now left but a pile of stones, suggestive of the memorial cairns of the ancient Britons, to mark the site of the old cabin which was demolished a few days after the celebrations reported above. The little one-story frame house where Mrs. Gridley and her secretary spent the two weeks still remains. "Sis," now Nancy Hall Moore, a woman still hearty and full of lore and ready to speak, is still in possession. In a box under the bed are still kept some precious relics waiting for some collector to want them. The old portfolio or covers of the scrap book in which the boy wrote poetry and did his "sums"—though all the leaves with his writings have been carried away—a tri-square, a compass and whetstone that belonged to the father and a piece of the original rail split by the greatest American are among them.

The graves in the Shiloh Cemetery, upon which this Fourth of July party thirty-seven years ago placed their posies, are still neglected. Nothing now marks the resting place of the beloved "Grandmarm Lincoln" and the humble shaft that has taken the place of the "T. L." board placed there by the great president is being chipped by vandal hands.

"Alas for the nation that forgets its annals!" How long will this reproach hang over the state of Illinois? How slow are the "patriots" in recognizing the sanctities of this chosen land that are forever the spiritual inspirations that make the Fourth of July not a thing of noise and gunpowder, of eating and racing, but a season of heart quickening, mind enlarging, of reconsecration to the fundamental inspirations that characterize the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation and the far-reaching sentences of President Wilson which linked the humble birthplace of Kentucky, the old cabin in Illinois and the martyred Lincoln with the million or more boys who are now on the firing line, dreaming of a democracy that is international, the federation of the free that will make Coles County, Illinois, a section in the Holy Land, and the humble graves in the Shiloh Cemetery shrines which philosophers will delight to visit and poets will entwine with the imperishable garlands of the roses that never fade.

In the great debate on conscientious objection in the British Parliament, Lord Hugh Cecil, himself an ardent supporter of the righteousness of this war, declares: "If the safety of the State were the supreme law, how could we blame the Germans for anything they did? We are Christians first and Englishmen afterwards. Christianity can never compromise with any national plan."—*From leaflet of National Civil Liberties Bureau.*

THE PULPIT

President Wilson and the Soul of America

By Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Church of the Messiah.

The sermon which I am to preach to you this morning* has its origin, and I suppose that I may also say, its text, in the letter which was written this last week by President Wilson to Senator Overman of Tennessee.

In order to understand this letter, it is necessary to recall that there has recently been introduced into the United States Senate, by Senator Chamberlain of Oregon a bill which has come to be known as the Court Martial Bill. This proposed piece of legislation provides in effect that when a person is arrested on a charge of disloyalty or sedition under the Espionage Act, he shall be immediately surrendered to the military for trial by a drum-head court martial, and thus be denied all of the familiar civil rights which are attached to that venerable institution of human liberty known as "trial by jury." This bill, of course, is aimed primarily at spies and disloyalists of one kind and another, who are known to be deliberately interfering with the government in the prosecution of the war against the German Empire. The motives of the men who are behind it are of the best, I have no doubt. But the dangers involved in the proposal were strikingly portrayed in a little speech by Senator Brandegee of Connecticut, who pointed out that, under the provisions of this act, a man could be arrested without indictment, and, under no other charge than that of mere suspicion, tried and convicted by court martial and shot before sunrise by a corporal's guard, without a single civil official, from one end of the land to the other, with the exception of the President, being able to lift so much as a little finger on behalf of the defendant. Nothing more un-American can be conceived, to my way of thinking, than such a bill as this. And yet nobody outside the Senate Chamber has dared to oppose it, for the very good reason that anybody who ventures to voice opposition to anything that is suggested by a man who is known to be a "patriot," primarily because he himself says so in a very loud voice, day and night without ceasing, is forthwith declared to be pro-German! The President is perhaps the one man in the country today who is able to ignore the possibility of this slanderous accusation. Hence the power with which he spoke his mind on this Chamberlain bill! Like a bolt from out of the blue came this letter from Mr. Wilson to the Senator from Tennessee. The words were few, but they were quite sufficient to tell the truth. I am "unalterably opposed" to this legislation, wrote the President. "I think it is not only unconstitutional, but that in character it would put us upon the level of the very people we are fighting and affecting to despise. It would be altogether inconsistent with the spirit and practice of America."

It is this remarkable statement which leads me to speak this morning of "President Wilson and the Soul of America"—to raise the great question of saving this beloved nation of ours from falling to the "level

*Sunday, April 28, 1918.

of the people we are fighting and affecting to despise!" For it is high time that we realized in this country that we are confronted at this moment by exactly the same kind of spiritual peril, against which the allied nations of Europe have been contending more or less successfully for more than three years and a half.

At the very beginning of the War, in 1914, there was a great Frenchman who pointed out to his fellow-countrymen that France at that moment had two battles upon her hands—the battle for the protection of her soil, and the battle for the protection of her soul. The one conflict was easy enough to see, for already the German legions had crossed the Belgian and French frontiers and were marching upon Paris. The other conflict, equally significant and terrible, was by no means so obvious, for it was a struggle not in the world visible at all, but in the world invisible. Here was the Republic fighting against a nation which had ravished Belgium, had rained down from her flying monsters of the sky instruments of death upon the defenseless women and children of the French capital, and was now leveling her mightiest cannon upon the cathedral of Rheims and thus leveling to the dust a treasure which belonged, like the Parthenon of Athens and the Coliseum of Rome, not to any one people, but to the world. Inevitable under such circumstances was the temptation to reprisals. Certain was it that sooner or later somebody, even as distinguished as Maurice Maeterlinck, would seriously propose that France should pledge herself to destroy in Germany, when at last her troops should cross the Rhine, city for city, town for town, church for church, destroyed by German arms in France. The invasion not only of the soil but of the soul of the Republic was well under way, and victory for the foeman was as likely in the one field of conquest as in the other. Hence the wisdom and courage of this Frenchman, when he raised his voice in warning against the deadly peril which was confronting his beloved country, and summoned her sons to rally on the frontiers of the spirit. "To each his part," he wrote, "to the armies the protection of the soil of their native land, to the thinkers the defense of its thought. If they subordinate that thought to the passions of their people, they may well be useful instruments of passion; but they are in danger of betraying the spirit, which is not the least part of a people's patrimony. One day History will pass judgment on each of the nations at war; she will weigh their measure of errors, lies and heinous follies. Let us try and make ours light before her!"

It is pleasant to recall that an appeal equally noble was spoken to Englishmen, in the early days of the Great War, by Stephen Phillips, in the last work which was published before his early and lamented death. In his stirring drama, called "Armageddon," the poet pictured the final victory of the Allies over the retreating hosts of Germany, and made his climax the entrance of English, French and Belgian troops into the city of Cologne. In the last act of the play, the commanders of the allied armies are represented as sitting about a council-table, debating as to whether or not they shall destroy the Cologne Cathedral in revenge and reprisal for the destruction of the great monument at Rheims. At the critical moment, there appears to the French general the ghostly figure of Joan of Arc, clad as on the day when she crowned her king before the altars of the shattered shrine. Summoned to tell the reason for her visitation, she declares that she has risen from her tomb to deliver her beloved France from the menace of spiritual destruction in the hour of military triumph:

> "I come to say to thee: 'Forego Revenge!'
> Looked for so long, so easy now to take,
> Let not my land in victory lose her soul."

Then speaking of the Germans and the vast horror which they had brought upon the world, the mystic visitant continued:

> "The Powers of Darkness loosed this war:
> Fear then, lest these shalt tempt you to repay,
> Till you at last they whelm in their own darkness."

It is just this thought, it seems to me, which must have been present in the mind of President Wilson when he looked upon this Court Martial Bill, and placed on record his absolute opposition to its enactment. Like these two writers, he would save his country from a fate even worse than that of defeat and overthrow upon the field of battle. He saw, what every person of spiritual apprehension must discern at this dread hour, that America is threatened not by a single, but by a *twofold* Prussian invasion. On the one hand, of course, there is always the chance of enemy submarines and Zeppelins, or even German troops on shipboard, crossing the ocean and bringing death and destruction to our shores. The contingency seems remote, so long at least as the English navy holds control of the seven seas; but it is something to be regarded, all the same, as not beyond the bounds of possibility. Infinitely more dangerous, however, because confronted by no such obstacles, is the invasion of this country not by Prussian arms but by the Prussian spirit—the spreading, as if on wings of air—even to this far corner of the earth, of that moral pestilence which has for years now been feeding upon the Teuton peoples. It will avail us nothing to flatter ourselves that we are not as these Germans who have stricken all the world with horror and disgust. Abhor them as we will, we still must recognize them to be human beings, and their frailties therefore the frailties to which human beings are heir. No superiority of birth, or training, or education can give permanent immunity to spiritual, any more than to physical, contagion. Our American civilization, for example, is higher and better in every way than that of China. There is no one of us who would not be tempted to resent the suggestion that there was any similarity between the standards and conditions which characterize these two peoples of East and West. But when the bubonic plague breaks out in Canton, Shang Hai or Hong Kong, it fastens sooner or later upon San Francisco; and all the vast resources of knowledge, experience and money, which are at the disposal of the government, are needed to protect the nation from disaster. So also with this militaristic plague, which has its breeding place in the moral swamps of Prussia. There is nothing in the stuff of which Americans are made, which of itself guarantees protection from the spread of this disease. Its virus is peculiar not to Germans but to humans. Its seeds take root not in the Prussian heart merely, but in any heart not strong with the rich, red blood of moral health. What has happened to Prussia may happen to any people who are not alert to guard the soul of man from death. For the "Powers of Darkness," like the Powers of Light, are universal, and Night and Day, like Death and Life, eternal presences.

It is this which constitutes the peril of this spiritual invasion, of which I speak; and the high challenge to America, as to the other allied countries in this war, "not in victory (to) lose her soul!" In order that we may understand the exact nature of the problem, let us consider for a moment what is the difference between the Prussian spirit and the American spirit.

We are interested in this mater from what may be called the social or political point of view; and here the contrast between spiritual values is very evident. On the one hand is Prussia, which must be described as that particular country in the modern world which has worked out to its farthest degree of perfection the philosophy of the state as the unit of society. The Prussian spirit is the spirit of centralization and autocracy. It represents the ultimate manifestation of all ideas that have to do with state organization and state control as the fulfilment of social idealism. To the typical Prussian, the state in its most autocratic form, is the central fact of life. Around this must everything else be grouped—to this must everything else be subordinated. This is not to say that the Prussian forgets or neglects the importance of the individual man and woman as factors in the social structure. Other autocracies, such as the Russian, for example, have perished for no other reason than that they have exploited the people whom they have controlled, or left them to welter in ignorance and want. But not so the Prussian! Here do we see a wholly new pattern of autocracy, drawn to the scale of material prosperity and human happiness. It is not too much to say, perhaps, that the enlightened social legislation of the German Empire during the past twenty or thirty years, has produced a higher type of working man, and better standards of industrial and civic life, than can be found in any other European country. But the individual has been thus recognized and fostered not, as Kant would have had it, for his own sake or as an end in himself, but only as a means to the one supreme end of a potent and efficient state. The Prussian uses the individual for his own selfish and autocratic purposes, much as every tyrant has done in ages past; but he is unique in his scientific apprehension of the fact that this individual is most useful when cared for, and not neglected. It is this which has enabled the Kaiser to build out of the carefully disciplined life of the German people a social organization such as the world has never seen before. The state is the supreme achievement; and the individual the agent, or rather the raw material, of this achievement. In view of what has been transpiring on the western front during the last four weeks, to say nothing of the whole policy of Germany since the close of the Franco-Prussian War, I believe it not unfair to suggest that the Prussian has been caring for his people through all these years, for a purpose not altogether different from that of the farmer who patiently fattens his pigs through the winter months, for the spring slaughter!

In utter contradiction to this Prussian type of idealism, is the spiritual idealism of America. This country, in loyal adherence to the deep-rooted traditions of the Anglo-Saxon civilization of England, in which she found her origins, has ever emphasized the individual as the "center and soul of every sphere" of organized social relationship. The individual, and not the state, is with us the unit of society. It is no accident in the history of the United States that when the Constitution was submitted to the thirteen original states for ratification in 1787, the addition of a detailed Bill of Rights became at once the universally recognized condition of its acceptance by the people as a satisfactory instrument of government. The first ten amendments to the Constitution, proposed at the first session of the first Congress in 1789, are an accurate expression of the instinctive American feeling that a state is nothing more nor less than a means to the great end of individual liberty. So extreme has been the spirit of America in this regard, that we have woefully neglected in times past the problem of government, and have altogether ignored the requirements of the state as an efficient means for the accomplishment of the very purposes we have at heart. Only in recent years have we come to realize that there must be an indefinite extension of the functions and power of government, if the individual is to be protected in the enjoyment of true liberty amid the growing complexity of present-day social structure. But the individual still remains the center of our interest and concern. He is the end, and the state only the means to his larger and truer emancipation. The American is proud of his government, willing always to maintain it, ready on occasion to die for it. But he never looks upon it as a beautiful monumental structure to be admired for its own sake, or even as an efficient machine to be geared to the doing of some colossal piece of work. Rather does he think of it as he thinks of his home—as a place for the rearing of his children. It is for these beloved souls that the home exists. So also with these beloved comrades, our fellow citizens! It is for each one of them, from the least even unto the greatest, that the United States of America has being.

The difference between the Prussian spirit and the American spirit, from this social and political point of view, can best be suggested, perhaps, by the contrast between the two words "autocracy" and "democracy." The Prussian state represents a centralization of power in the hands of the few for the benefit of the few. This centralization is so complete, and the isolation of the state therefore so complete, that no moral relationships or obligations of any kind are recognized. The law of God is ignored or defied as freely as the will of the people. "Political morality," writes General Bernhardi, "differs from individual morality, because there is no power above the state." The state, in other words, is a complete and perfect end in itself. It is the standard of right, as well as the instrument of expediency. The American state, on the other hand, represents a distribution of power into the hands of the many. It is "government of the people, for the people, by the people." So far from being independent, it is absolutely subject to man's spirit, and therefore obedient to those moral principles which have their origin and life within the soul. Germany, in other words, is an "autocracy," as the United States is a "democracy." This is not to say that there are no democratic elements in the life of Germany; on the contrary, the great Social-Democratic party at one time gave assurance of being one of the dominant democratic forces of the modern world. Neither do I mean to imply that America knows nothing of autocracy; on the contrary, we have thousands of persons in this country

who have no more knowledge of democracy than a Prussian Junker, or, if they have some measure of this knowledge, hate and fear democracy not less than they fear the Kaiser. But in each of these two nations, there is a dominant or characteristic element which in the one case is autocratic, and in the other, democratic. It is not without good reason that we have fallen into the habit of speaking familiarly of "the Prussian *state*" and "the American *people!*"

The divergence between the Prussian and the American spirit, as thus described, must now be seen to be absolute. They are as far asunder as the two poles. Indeed, they represent those two extreme points of social development, between which, as between life and death, the movements of human progress are forever oscillating. To conceive of these two contradictory ideals as commingling, or the one displacing the other through the influences of spiritual contagion, would seem to be absurd. And yet, just as I have long hoped, and still devoutly hope, that the spirit of democracy may some day seize upon the German people and move them to the overthrow of the hideous autocracy which now controls their destinies, so I fear, as I have long feared, that our American republic may some day see corruption, and thus add one more to the many historic tragedies of the rise and fall of peoples. Especially do I fear the possibility of this calamity today. For we are living in the midst of the most terrible war that humanity has ever known, and war, by its very nature, provides the medium in which the "culture" of Prussianism is most certain to flourish and spread abroad. "War is the sport of kings," runs the ancient maxim. By the same token is war not even the business, though it may become the sad necessity, of democracy. War and democracy are antithetical—it is impossible that they should continue to live together in the same world. Some men feel this so intensely that they have taken a solemn vow never for any reason, or under any circumstances, to consent to or participate in armed conflict between nations. Most men, moved no less intensely, have plunged into this war with the conviction that it may be made, by their devotion and determination, to be the war that shall at last end war, and thus preserve the liberties of mankind. But, even as the fight goes on, there are created those conditions of social life in which autocracy is most sure to flourish, and democracy to languish even unto death. "Mankind is fortunate," writes Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, an ardent supporter of the present battle against Germany, "if war even restrains the evil it was meant to halt and does not create new evils worse than those attacked, as surgery sometimes scatters the cancerous poison that it tries to cut away." The battle against autocracy abroad, in other words, puts in immediate jeopardy the democracy which we have at home. The soul is in equal peril with the soil. Nay, it is in greater peril, for it is, "in victory," as Stephen Phillips has pointed out, that a land in arms is most likely to "lose her soul." Hence the danger of this hour! America is not Prussia; and, in spite of all the common identities of human nature, will never at this late day, I believe, become as Prussia. But there is not an instant, in such times as these, when she may not be lowered, by some flight of madness, to "the level of the people (she is) fighting and affecting to despise." *Facilis descensus Averno!*

We can see this more clearly, if we consider for a moment, in some detail, what the Prussian spirit really means; and observe those first symptoms of the Prussian menace, which have already made their appearance in our beloved "land of the free."

(1) Essential to very life of Prussianism, as we have seen, is suppression of individuality. Nowhere is this suppression more evident in Germany, both before and since the War, than in the matter of personal opinion—the expression, through the spoken or written word, of thought. For years the Kaiser's government, by the skilful utilization of unexampled processes of education, has moulded the sentiments of her people, their ways of thinking as well as their ideas, as a sculptor moulds the wet clay beneath his fingers. The result of this long training in gymnasium, university and church was seen instantly at the outbreak of the Great War. How remarkable, for example, was the martialing of the immortal "ninety-three" professors, for the learned defense of the indefensible! How astonishing, as well, the almost unanimous rallying of public opinion to the support of the Kaiser in his war against Russia and France! Only Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, and the indomitable Maximilian Harden dared to speak their opposition, and thus retain the self respect of the independent mind. Behind these great tribunes of the people, there may have been a body of public opinion, which we know nothing about. But, if so, this fact leads us at once to the second great weapon of Prussian tyranny in the field of thought—namely, the censorship. For years, now, the German minister has preached, the German professor taught, the German editor written, the German author published his books, only at the pleasure, and by the kind permission, of the Imperial German Government. The repeated suppression of *Vorwaerts,* and the earlier imprisonment of Liebknecht for his book on "Militarism," are only two more than ordinarily familiar instances of the dominance of the Prussian spirit over all free thought and free speech. The Kaiser has here desired but one thing—absolute uniformity of thought within the borders of his realm; and to this end he has been willing to wield every weapon of oppression which autocracy can forge.

Such a control of public opinion would seem to be intolerable to the American spirit. And so it is, under ordinary circumstances! But today, when the stress of war is putting fear into our hearts, we are beginning to see what we think are the advantages of autocracy; and are encouraging a suppression of free thought and free speech, which would be incredible to any previous generation of Americans. In speaking of this fact, I have not in mind the perfectly proper endeavor of the government to control the activities of spies and the utterances of disloyalists. Rather am I thinking of the deliberate movement now well under way in this country to establish an absolute uniformity of opinion on all questions pertaining to the purposes of this war, and the character of the peace which must be established after the war. The machinery, publicly and privately established for the accomplishment of this purpose, is clumsy in the extreme; and it is to the everlasting credit of Americans, perhaps, that they would not be able to operate a good piece of machinery, even if they had it. But lacking efficiency

and experience in this direction, we have fallen back on what the *New Republic* has called the typical feature of American "kultur"—appeal to mob violence! From one end of the country to the other today, the mob spirit is abroad, establishing in city and country the American reign of terror. The hanging of Frank Little, the deportations from Bisbee, the outrages at Tulsa, the whipping of Herbert Bigelow, arrests innumerable, tar and feather parties every day, and now at last as a fitting climax the lynching by an entire community of the suspected alien, Praeger—these are the events which are terrorizing America and thus effectually proscribing the traditional American habit of independent thought. Such deeds mark the triumph of Prussianism, and the death of Americanism. Every pacifist minister driven from his pulpit, every independent professor ousted from his chair, every loyal German newspaper denied the right of public sale—all these are so many tributes to the Kaiser! In our very endeavor to destroy this ruler, we are falling victim to his spirit, and thus establising on an infinitely wider scale than he could ever do, the terror of his reign. It is from this, I am persuaded, that our President would save us—and is saving us, may I say, by keeping alive in his own high office the practices of thought! But not yet are we delivered—nor shall we be, until we have collectively the courage of the French Premier, Clemenceau. Almost first among his actions, when this statesman took office some months ago, was the suspension of the French censorship law. Newspapers in France today, when the enemy is well-nigh knocking at the gates of Paris, can still print anything that is not military information! And this policy of freedom Clemenceau justifies by one of the few heroic utterances of this vast conflict. "We must guard liberty *first*," he said; "our *next* duty is to prosecute the war."

(2) Another element characteristic of the Prussian spirit is the supremacy of the military over the civil institutions of government. In the years before the War, this fact was evident even to the casual visitor in Germany, through the unchecked arrogance and power of the military class. This "class," says Robert Hunter, in a recent article, "was as different from the rest of the German nation as the ruling caste in India is from the mass of Hindus. Nine-tenths of the Prussians have gashes in their faces and necks, and I used to think of them as a cut-throat crowd." Every now and then there came along some public happening like the famous Zabern incident, which revealed the practical enslavement of the civil population to the military. Immediately upon the outbreak of the War, all civil rights were suspended, and the Empire to all intents and purposes placed under martial law—a fact which was very properly seized upon by the allied world as proof positive of the Prussian menace to human liberty. And now that the War is well under way, the entire nation, including even the Kaiser, to say nothing of the Reichstag, seems clutched in the iron grip of Hindenburg and Ludendorf.

Such supremacy of the military over the civil in the affairs of government, seems incredible to us Americans. And yet how far would we be from just such a hopeless plight in this country, if some of our patriotic fellow-countrymen had their way? Do you remember the threat made in Milwaukee, a few days before the recent mayoralty election, by an organized group of "leading citizens"—that if the Socialist candidate were elected, they would have the city put under martial law, and the mayor-elect denied the right to take office? It is not unlikely that the quiet word from Washington that such action would lead to interference by the national government, alone put a stop to the scheme. Again, recall, if you will, the things that have been said about the treatment to be allotted to the "conscientious objectors" uncovered by the draft. Many a man has directly or indirectly suggested that they might well be shot. Theodore Roosevelt has again and again declared that he would order them to service upon mine-sweepers. Innumerable citizens would gladly surrender them to the military for any punishment, from shooting to long-term imprisonment. Only the enlightened ruling of the President, granting these men a threefold choice of non-combatant service, has perhaps saved this situation from becoming a monstrous stain upon the escutcheon of our democracy. And now, at the last, has come this notorious Chamberlain bill, the precise character of which Mr. Wilson has so relentlessly disclosed to the country. Never was it more fortunate that, by the terms of our Constitution, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy is a civil magistrate, the President; and never more fortunate, as well, that this supreme office at this moment in our history is held by such a man as Woodrow Wilson. For not otherwise, perhaps, could the soul of America have been saved today from surrender, of its own deliberate choice, to the invading spirit of Prussianism!

(3) Lastly, may I speak of still another element of Prussianism which is most threatening to America at this dread hour? I refer to the unblushing devotion of the Prussian spirit to war as a factor in the determination of human destinies.

The attitude of the Prussian toward this phenomenon of war is of a threefold character. First of all, he looks upon it as a necessary product of human nature, and therefore as permanent in the life of the race. As a next step, he accepts war not only as a part of the structure of the world, so to speak, but as a welcome instrument for the attainment of far-flung aims of national aggrandizement and glory. And then, as a final step, he moralizes the whole by affirming war to be that condition of human society which best fosters the heroic virtues, and thus keeps strong and brave the spirit of the race. Already, as consequence of such a philosophy as this, the Prussian is looking forward to the coming of the next war, before the present war is over. Whatever the outcome of this conflict now raging at the flood in France, one thing at least is certain to his mind—that, after a due interval of peace is passed, the nations will again be weltering in another and perhaps deeper sea of blood. Therefore is the Prussian already studying the mistakes of the German General Staff, that they may not be repeated in the next great conflict; and inaugurating, in the commercial field, those preparations for a new war which can even now be started!

To the people of this country such an attitude toward war is not only stupid, but wicked. We regard war at the worst as an indefensible crime—at the best as a tragic survival of those ages of barbarism which have

in all things else completely disappeared. This present war has to us but a single meaning, and that is as a struggle to end war once for all. Some few Americans have welcomed this war, I have no doubt, as an opportunity for profiteering at home and commercial exploitation abroad. There are wicked men in all countries! Others urged it many months before it came, as a fight in revenge for national injuries and in vindication of national honor. Most Americans, however, I am persuaded, neither welcomed nor urged the war at any time. Rather did they accept it as a sad necessity, a solemn duty which they owed to themselves and their posterity. Militarism, they believed, had now come to a point where it could wreck the world. War, in the hands of a power like Germany, was now grown to be a monster which could devour civilization. Therefore must both be ended, by the sword! My attitude as a non-resistant has kept me altogether apart from this interpretation of the situation. But I should feel myself to be an unworthy American, if I did not pay tribute to the faith of my fellow-countrymen that war can be abolished; and their determination at any cost of life and money, to do it!

Not all Americans, however, are living and dying in this high spirit. The "Prussians" are among us here, as elsewhere, resolved to quench the fires of truth now burning with so pure a flame on the altars of our national idealism. How significant an episode of a fortnight ago! On a certain day, there came over the cables to this country the story that the Kaiser, journeying over the battlefield of Picardy, discreetly in the rear of his troops, was moved to lament the awful destruction of the scene, and then to exclaim, "But this must be, so long as human nature is human nature!" Just two days later, a distinguished American, in a public speech, derided those who called this war "the war to end war," and said that wars were doomed to continue until some way was found to change human nature! Identical temperaments and philosophies dictated these cruel words. Either the Kaiser was moved by the American spirit, or the American by the Prussian spirit. Both could not have been the true mouthpieces of their respective nations.

Still more impressive, as evidence of the Prussian war-spirit in our midst, is the current agitation for the adoption of universal military training. Nothing could be more untimely—nothing a more certain attack upon the faith of the American people, that out of this war they can bring "a durable peace"—nothing therefore a more certain betrayal of the American spirit! Universal military training is a Prussian and not an American institution. It is the spawn of autocracy, not the child of democracy. In a world made safe for democracy, it would be as much out of place as the mastodon or the dinosaur. To urge it now is to proclaim that this war cannot make the world safe for democracy—or, in other words, that whatever happens to Prussian arms, the Prussian spirit is to survive as conqueror. What wonder that President Wilson, who has affirmed that we shall fight until the world is safe, will have nothing to do with this proposal! What doubt that Secretary Baker, in the words of his Annual Report, is voicing the true spirit of this great republic! "The Department," he says, "has not sought, and does not now seek, legislation on the subject, chiefly for the reason that the formation of permanent military policy will inevitably be affected by the arrangements consequent upon the termination of the present war. Civilized men must hope that the future has in store a relief from the burden of armament, and the destruction and waste of war."

Such is the situation in this country today—a democracy threatened with autocracy through the accident of war! The soul of America battling against the invasions of the dread spirit of militarism. The war issue in itself is not here under debate. I am this morning looking upon this war as a fact in the life of America, and pleading that it be fought in a spirit so noble and self-forgetting that the soul of this beloved country of ours may be purified and not defiled by the ordeal of fire. To this high aim I am persuaded that our President, as a pure idealist, is dedicated; and against him, in commercial and political life alike, are the menacing forces of reaction which threaten our republic at home no less darkly than the arms of the Kaiser across the seas. Woodrow Wilson is fighting this day two battles—one for the soil, and one for the soul, of America. He sees, as we must see, that the battle for the one, however victorious in terms of swords and banners, will be a failure, unless the battle for the other is likewise won. It is this, I must believe, that he was saying to those who have ears to hear, when he warned us against falling to "the level of the people we are fighting and affecting to despise."

In his recent book entitled "The Outlook for Religion," Dr. W. E. Orchard, a famous English clergymen, non-pacifist in sentiment, writes a terrible page. It is the one in which he speaks of the possibility of England losing her soul, while her soldiers die on Flanders field to save her. "The soldiers are getting dissatisfied," he says. "They find on their return that the England they left behind, no doubt always idealized, and never more so than now, has sadly changed. They find on top the insolent and brutal opinion which before was decently concealed. They resent the continual invasions of civil liberty and the petty persecutions that are going on. They fear the effect of the war as they see the gradual filching away of hard-won liberties."

It is this that I fear for our country. I would not have our boys come home, to find the America they went abroad to save from Prussian arms, delivered over to the Prussian spirit. I would have them, at that moment of glad triumph, find America still herself, and their sacrifices for her freedom therefore not in vain. To this high aim must we, the stay-at-homes, devote ourselves. With the President we must colabor to save the soul of America.

It is our joy the starry flag to wave
For those who died for freedom of our own
And those who died for freedom of the slave.
Laying our laurels on each patriot's grave,
Proudly we tell of liberty's great price
And echo with a glibness undismayed
Words bled from the deep hearts of those who paid.

—*Amelia Josephine Burr.*

Colonial Ethics and Economics

The ethics of Empire has been the subject of much discussion. The vast British Empire was built up through trade demands and almost by accident, with no continuous national purpose. England had early carried to backward lands her missions and her trade. In her policy of "British Peace" (*Pax Britannica*) with its semblance of order and decency, she mingled enough of justice and freedom to give a degree of permanence.

Says John Bright: "We may not build an empire on the basis of freedom, but we may be sure that we cannot build it on any other basis."

Long experience and native talent have given the British an increasing degree of skill in dealing with subject peoples. The fact remains, however, as Lincoln once observed, that there is no man good enough to govern another against his will. In this regard, a democracy, being ignorant and careless of details and responsible to its own public opinion only, may be as tyrannical as an autocracy forced to consider its own self-preservation. The history of British rule in Ireland is said to illustrate this.

The economic side of empire is relatively simple. A few individuals reap the profits, a much larger number secure employment, the nation at large pays the cost, and from its best life is taken heavy toll of civil and military service. According to Benjamin Franklin, "The profits of no trade can ever be equal to the cost of compelling it by force of arms!"

"Regardless of a national investment, Imperialism does not pay. Regarded as a means of assuring unearned incomes to the governing class, it emphatically does pay. It is not true that trade follows the flag. It is true that the flag follows investments." (Brailsford.)

India, for example, has enriched England, that is, that small part of the population concerned with overseas trade and the larger group which calls for raw materials, the product of cheap labor. India has also furnished employment for thousands of young Englishmen. But it has opened graves for thousands on thousands of British yeomen and British gentlemen, whom England could ill afford to spare.

Those nations (less wise than Great Britain), which by means of trade restrictions or otherwise have permitted the bleeding of their colonial possessions have found the process financially unprofitable as well as ruinous to the native populations concerned. "In the Imperial colonial policy colonies are conceived to stand to their Imperial guardian or master in a relation between that of a step-child and that of an indentured servant; to be dealt with summarily and at discretion and to be made use of without scruple. The like attitude towards colonies was once familiar matter-of-course with the British and Spanish statesmen. The British found the plan unprofitable and also unworkable and have given it up. The Spanish having no political outlook but the dynastic one, could of course not see their way to relinquish the only purpose of their colonial enterprise except in relinquishing their colonial possessions. The German (Imperial) colonial policy is and will be necessarily after the Spanish pattern, and necessarily, too, with Spanish results. (Veblen, "The Nature of Peace.")

As a matter of fact, the German colonies have been mainly armed camps, whose officers have treated all natives with a brutality unexampled in late years among civilized peoples. The Hereros in South West Africa, one of the most promising of native tribes, were virtually exterminated in 1904, for a minor outbreak after some act of wanton cruelty. In the interest of a "healthy egoism," the remnant of these people was forced to work as slaves. It was urged in the name of practical politics ("Realpolitik"), that "the sentiments of Christianity and philanthropy with which the missionaries work must be repudiated with all energy." (Schleitwein; quoted by Ramsey Muir; "The Expansion of Europe.")

It is probable that negro slavery was maintained in all the African colonies of Germany. I have myself seen bands of negro slaves, little black fellows, brought from the Colomon Islands, at work in the cocoanut groves of Samoa.*

Atrocities of like character are recorded from the Belgian Congo. But the district at the time was treated as a personal asset of the greedy and vulgar King Leopold II.

> "One whose crown shed many a pearl
> "When his beard was tweaked by a dancing girl."

The scandals ceased after the Belgian Government assumed control, after the death of Leopold.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Leland Stanford University.

*In one of his published letters, Robert Louis Stevenson refers to this condition.

OLD MEG.

There's never the taste of a cherry for me,
They're out of my reach on the bough,
And it's hard to be seeing them hang on the tree—
And no man to hand me them now.

It's hard to be traveling since Billy Boy died,
With the devil's own crick in my back,
With the gout in my knees and a stitch in my side—
And no man to carry my pack.

It's hard to be traveling the roads all alone,
When cherries hang handy and ripe—
And no man to find me a soft mossy stone,
And no man to kindle my pipe.

A PRAYER.

Let me work and be glad,
O Lord, and I ask no more;
With will to turn where the sunbeams burn
At the sill of my workshop door.

Afore time I prayed my prayer
For the glory and gain of earth,
But now grown wise and with opened eyes,
I have seen what the prayer was worth.

Give me my work to do
And peace of the task well done;
Youth of the spring and its blossoming
And the light of the moon and sun.

Pleasure of little things
That never may pall or end,
And fast in my hold no lesser gold
Than the honest hand of a friend.

Let me forget in time
Folly of dreams that I had;
Give me my share of a world most fair—
Let me work and be glad.

The Earth Cry. —*Theodosia Garrison.*

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The History and Practice of Religion

Being the First Year's Work in the Seven Years' Course of Study, as Given by Jenkin Lloyd Jones to His Classes at the Abraham Lincoln Centre

Beginnings

Myth and Legend Versus the True Story

Prepared for UNITY by Miss May Johnson and Mrs. William Rothmann

XXIII

Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Commandments. Theft, Perjury, Greed, Social Honor

Leader: Mrs. L. M. Smith.

Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's.

For whatever men say in their blindness,
In spite of the fancies of youth,
There's nothing so kingly as kindness,
There's nothing so royal as truth.
—Alice Cary.

In modern English law stealing or theft is defined as "depriving another of his property by removing or withholding it," and the term includes larceny, robbery, burglary, cheating, embezzlement and breach of trust.

William James once said, "His own body and what ministers to its needs are the primitive objects of a man's interest."

Having safeguarded life as his most precious possession, the next commandment seeks to secure man in the enjoyment of his property. This law developed when nomadic tribles settled themselves in communities and accumulated wealth.

The value set upon proprietary rights is evidenced by the penalties inflicted upon transgressors. By Jewish custom, theft was punished by a fine, but in Greece at the time of Draco death was the penalty and in spite of frequent protests this law continued in effect throughout Europe for many centuries.

The first English statutes dealing with larceny were those of the year 1225, by which fines or imprisonment were imposed for stealing the king's deer. Under Ethelbert if a freeman stole from the king he must restore ninefold, if he stole from a freeman or a dwelling, threefold. Under Alfred, he who stole in a church was condemned to lose a hand. A man's house being his castle, any robbery which involved housebreaking was judged most harshly, and the stealing of cattle or grain in the field was followed by swift and sure vengeance. Here we find the origin of the phrases, "hue and cry" and "red handed."

Theft of above twelve pence was nominally a capital crime among the ancient Saxons, but the offender was permitted to ransom his life with a sum of money or a stated number of cattle. This power of redemption was revoked in the reign of Henry I, and persons guilty of grand larceny were sentenced to be hanged, while petit larceny was punished by imprisonment, whipping, and later by transportation for seven years. It was not until 1827 that capital punishment for stealing was completely abolished and the distinction between grand and petit larceny removed.

Without trust in men's honesty business and social relations would be impossible.

In training the young too much stress cannot be placed upon this virtue.

The ease with which articles are appropriated by school children in the so-called better districts, the frequency with which small change disappears and the infrequency which marks the return of lost belongings, the custom of contracting petty debts which are never repaid, all are a terrible arraignment of parents, for upon them rests the responsibility of rearing an honest generation.

A real knowledge of the distinction between "mine" and "thine" in its wider application would prevent men from thriving on the labor of underpaid employees and from amassing fortunes at the expense of the lives and happiness of women and children.

Though the ninth commandment particularly forbids perjury and slander, the import is broad enough to cover all forms of deceit, misrepresentation and malignant gossip.

In early legal history perjury was considered a sin against God rather than a crime under the jurisdiction of the courts. As a result of this view during the Middle Ages it became so common that aggrieved persons had recourse to trial by combat rather than trust their cases to the testimony of false witnesses.

Being regarded as a sin against heaven, perjury was long under the control of the ecclesiastical courts, and it was not until about the middle of the seventeenth century that it came under the jurisdiction of the criminal tribunals. In England false swearing that resulted in a prisoner's death constituted the offense of homicide.

Confidence is the very foundation of society and he whose word is as good as his bond is one of its real pillars. Evil doers clothe themselves with falsehood. Said Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Sin has many tools, but a lie is a convenient handle to them all."

In the very young, lies which are not malicious are often the result of the child's desire to live in the world of make-believe. They indicate the possession of a vivid imagination which later may develop into the creative faculties of the poet, musician or artist. This temperament requires careful guidance and it may be better to suppress an occasional genius that the many may continue in the paths of truth.

Stanley Hall said:

> The worst lies are those of selfishness. They ease children over many hard place of life and are convenient covers for weakness or vice. They are on the whole most prevalent and are also most corrupting and hard to correct. All bad habits particularly predispose to the lie of concealment for those who do wrong are almost certain to have recourse to falsehood and the sense of meanness thus slowly bred is oftentimes mitigated by the fact that falsehoods are frequently resorted to in moments of danger and excitement, are easily forgotten when it is over and rarely rankle.

In view of these facts it is evident that children cannot be too early nor too deeply impressed with the necessity of speaking the truth.

To primitive man the prohibitions of these commandments were binding only within his own tribe or nation. Strangers and aliens were the lawful prey of his cupidity and deceit. Civilization had molded him through many centuries before his sympathies became more inclusive.

Individual righteousness has been far in advance of civic righteousness. Personal honesty and straightforwardness have long obtained between men who would not hesitate to plunder and defraud the government. The tax-dodger has gloried in his shame and graft has honeycombed political life.

Great newspapers have been flagrant in their misrepresentations and powerful corporations in their business methods have been slow to measure up to private ethics. But the pressure of the times and an awakened social consciousness have resulted in the enactment of more stringent laws and the light of publicity has been turned on these civic and corporate sins to the betterment of national life.

The demand for frankness and truth has spread to international relations and government leaders are being forced to avow their purposes and policies and are being urged to free the world from the danger of secret diplomacy.

With the growth of social consciousness, while no less emphasis is placed on individual righteousness, there is developing the thought of the community as an entity responsible for the sins committed in its midst. Cities pride themselves on their cleanliness, the absence of preventable diseases and a low rate of infant mortality. Why should they not feel more keenly the disgrace of murders, robberies and dishonesty, realizing their task is not so much the reformation of the individual as a wiping out of the causes of crime?

The last commandment marks a decided advance in ethical thought. The preceding ones have dealt with man's outward relations, the tenth concerns itself with his mental attitude toward his fellowmen. It is not enough that his actions should be blameless, his soul also must be purged from covetousness. Of this secret sin Bacon said: "Of all other affections envy is the most importune and continual."

Selfishness is the root of most sins and covetousness is one of its most abhorrent products. Banish this from life and many evils would disappear with it, for "as a man thinketh so he is."

These three commandments, embodying the wisdom of past ages, are so basic in content and so comprehensive in their simplicity of expression that they may be interpreted to meet the changing exigencies of man's social relations.

QUESTIONS

(1) What were some of the early punishments for theft?
(2) What vice is the root of lying, covetousness and stealing?
(3) Trace the evolution of primitive man's consideration of selfish interests to the international relations of today.

Correspondence

The Call to the Free Religious Association

Dear UNITY:

An Episcopalian minister writes me: "Religion is eternal and the 'gates of hell' cannot prevail against it, but, as for the Christian Church, I say frankly I do not give two cents whether it endures or not."

A constantly increasing group of people are beginning to realize that the church is a veritable millstone about the necks of the really worth while men in the ministerial profession; and furthermore they are beginning to feel that if religion is going to reach the masses of the people it must be taught altogether outside the organized Christian church by men who shall be, in letter and spirit,—free.

Consider the approximately 66 per cent of the people in our country today who are counted among the unchurched. Those of us to whom religion is a real, a vital fact, cannot but ask ourselves, "Is there no way to reach some, at least, of these people?"

There is another group that claims our attention—the men that have left the ministry or been forced out of it by powerful cliques in the church societies or by autocratic boards of trustees, because they dared to think and urge others to think—because they have a vision and want their fellows to share it.

Yes, here is a countrywide congregation and here is a priesthood. But, one may say we lack the means of hitching them up together! Not at all. For what else has the Free Religious Association been kept alive all these years?

Think of the meaning of the word "FREE"! Is it not a challenge as well as an inspiration? Think of what it would mean to the cause of religion to have such a free-souled, free-acting ministry-at-large. It would make for the co-operation that the Christian church in its Protestant branch has, with characteristic stupidity, overlooked for several hundred years. It would provide the medium for the dissemination of a truly democratic, a really American religion. With a few exceptions, notably the Quakers, religious denominations today no longer contain the "faith" and a FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION, now, as in Emerson's time, is sadly needed to express and further such a faith.

Picture, if you can, the free souls in all denominations working together for the religious reconstruction, social revolution and moral reformation that the coming new world demands! Would this not be real work—God's work! So it would seem!

If the church as constituted today is hopeless, as so many are saying, there is no need for lamentation. Shall we not rather face the fact, or the possibility, and proclaim the right and the need of religion to be reaffirmed, reanimated, reclothed, reborn, and put to new uses? Shall we not declare with H. G. Wells for a religion that shall be "service under the captaincy of God"? "Such religion," he says, "free, speaking freely through whom it will, subject to perpetual unlimited criticism, will be the driving power of the whole organized world."

That the church has been unchristian, if not indeed anti-christian, since the third century, is coming to be more and more believed and asserted. Jesus himself would hardly find himself today in good standing, except in a few numerically unimportant but spiritually courageous communions.

Does the Free Religious Association of America hear this demand, does it understand, and will it respond? Is it ready for the great task of religious reformation that lies before it?

New York City. BLANCHE WATSON.

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THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion."

WOMEN, WAR AND WAGES.

In the chaos of destruction caused by war Woman is the chief sufferer. Blood and treasure are being poured out for victory. It may be in defence of country. It may be in the name of liberty for a downtrodden people or that Democracy may be safe in all the earth. To woman the burden is all the same. She is asked to give her husband, brothers and sons to fight the battles, and when they are gone she is called into the places they have vacated in order that the business of the world may go on. Goods must be made and distributed and people clothed and fed. She may not believe in war—most women do not—and the fact that her sons and brothers have been drafted into unwilling service makes the burden doubly hard to bear. She may feel in her heart that there is always a better way than war but to her now there seems no other but to try to accomplish the task the leaders of the nation have undertaken. She detests war in every fiber of her being and her soul constantly cries out for peace. She was not asked whether she should take up these burdens or not; and it may be even now she should say as did two members of the British cabinet when England was about to enter: "We will have no part in this bloody business." It is indeed a strange anomaly that these millions upon millions of women, ordinarily engaged in the peaceful occupation of satisfying normal human wants, comprising the virile portion of every country, are made the chief sufferers, and yet have had no part in bringing on the conflict.

There is a day coming when women will be asked whether her nation shall go to war. In this world struggle for Democracy it may be that Democracy will come to the United States and if so, woman will be included and her political and industrial rights secured for her and she will become a part of the nation as the women of Russia are today. It was no surprise that the Russians in their new liberties found it hard to listen to our commission coming as it did from a country that in industrial rights and political rights is a Democracy only in name.

When Democracy comes founded on faith and love and freedom and brotherhood it will not be compelled to resort to the weapons of Autocracy to exist. Woman will then be asked whether she will give her sons to slaughter. Then war will be no more.

Thousands of our men have already been called and thousands more are being called.

* * *

As the war progresses and war industries are developed more and more this number will be constantly increased until there will be millions of women workers added to our already 10,000,000 women in industry in this country. This has already occurred in European countries and is bound to occur here. The Federation of Metal Workers in Germany made an inquiry concerning women's work in the metal trades in the month of August and September, 1916.

There are 150,000 women and girls employed by the British Government in the clerical departments alone and most of these workers fill new positions created by the war. In this country as war industries expand women will be called to fill the places. It is impossible at the present time to even estimate the number.

* * *

There are three things of great importance to take into account with these women workers—wages, hours, and the kind of work they should be asked to do.

* * *

What about the wages she is receiving? It would only seem fair and just that she receive the same as the boys whose places she fills, especially when she does the work as well or better. But justice is not meted out so easily even in times of war.

* * *

Ten states have come to her help with a living wage, but now this becomes a war measure of the greatest importance for the whole nation.

If the world is made safe for Democracy according to the views of those who coined the slogan, it is pertinent for labor to demand that industry be also made safe for an industrial democracy of the working people.

In the United States there are in existence now many women's committees who deal in some way with women's work during war. The Full Opportunity League would like to see these committees make a united effort for a national living wage to become operative at once, in this great crisis, in order that industry as a whole may reap the benefits NOW and in the reconstruction that will follow the war. —*S. A. Atterberry.*

From "The Opportunist."

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